

DYNASTY OF THE BONAPARTES • BALTIMORE, 1814



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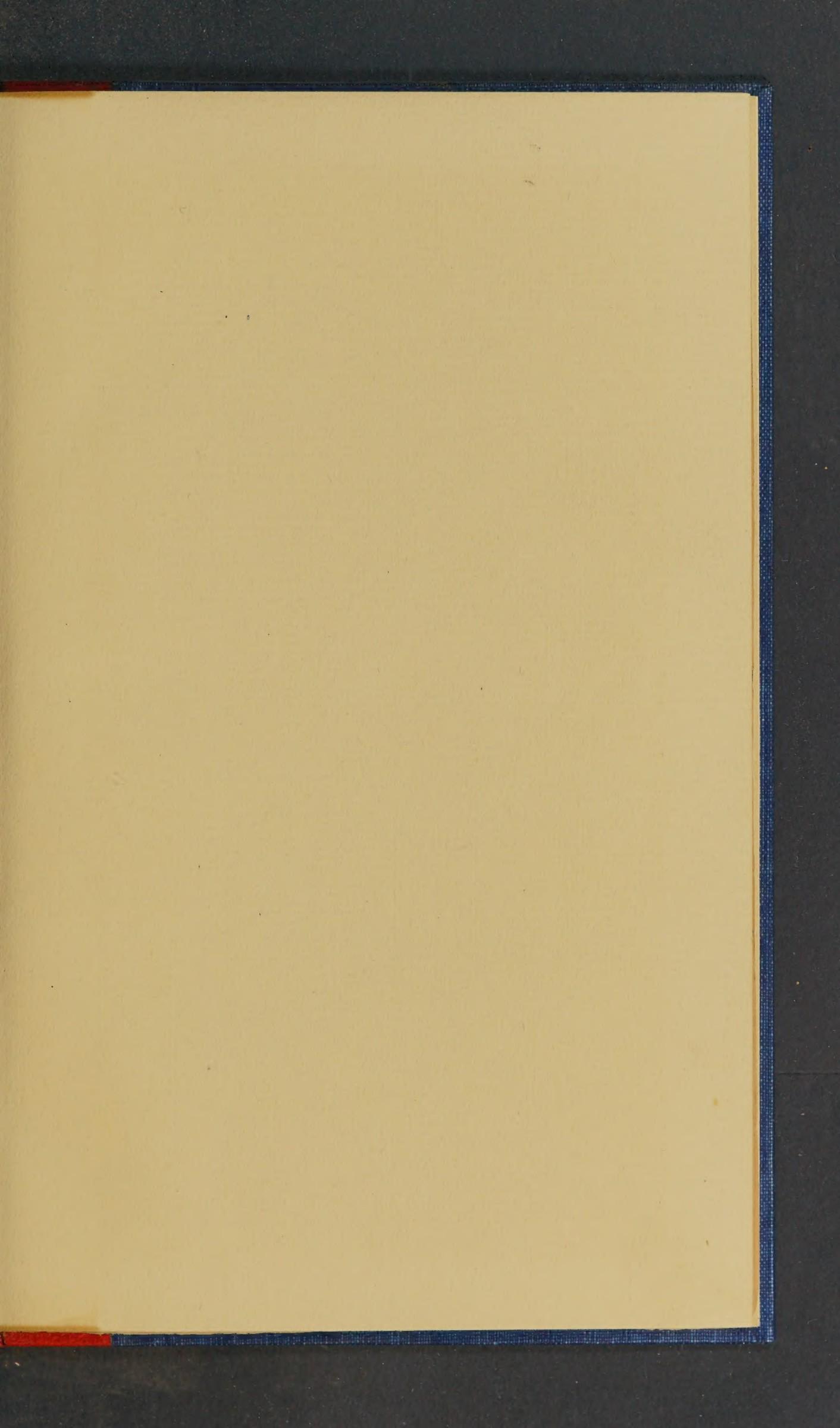


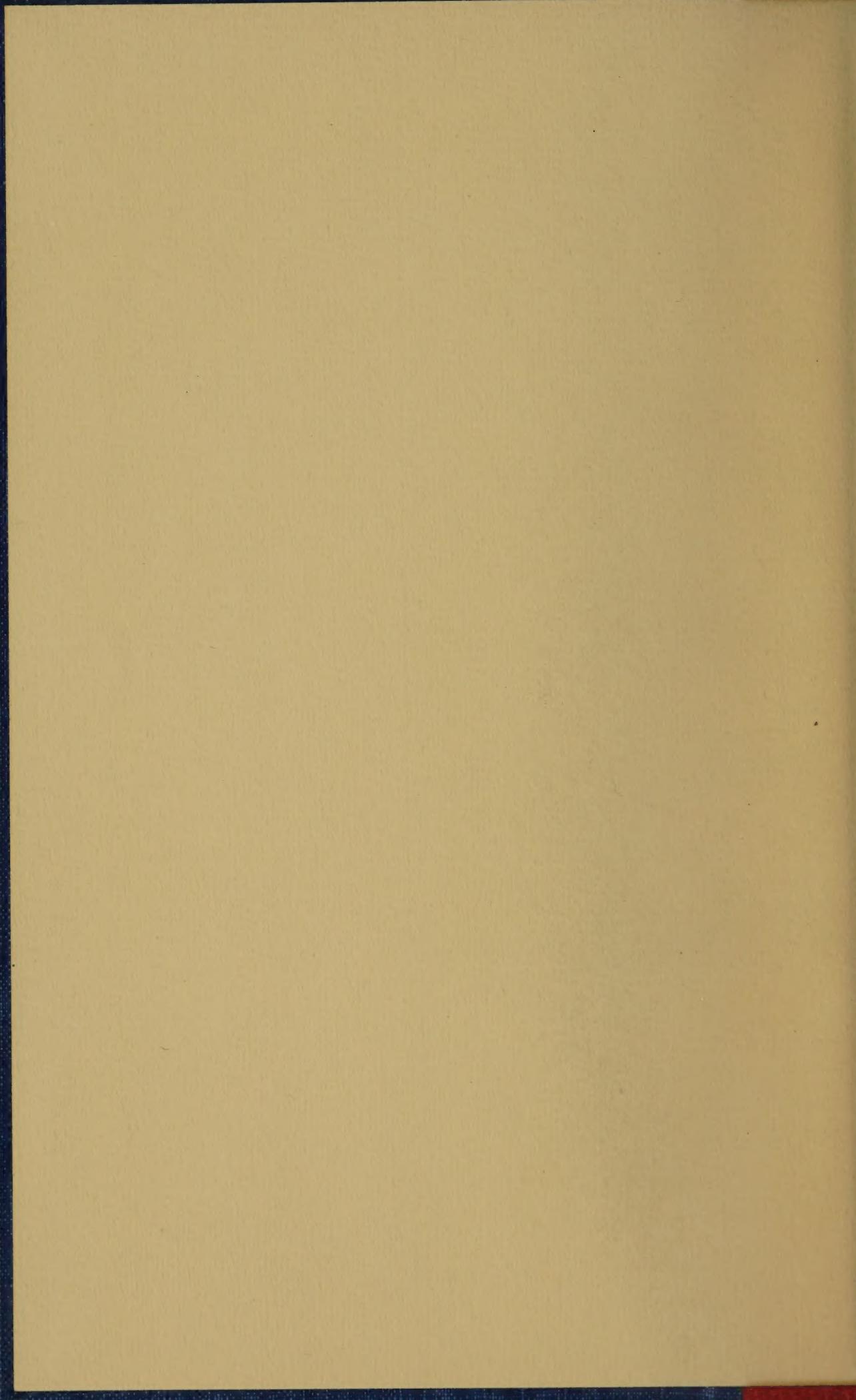
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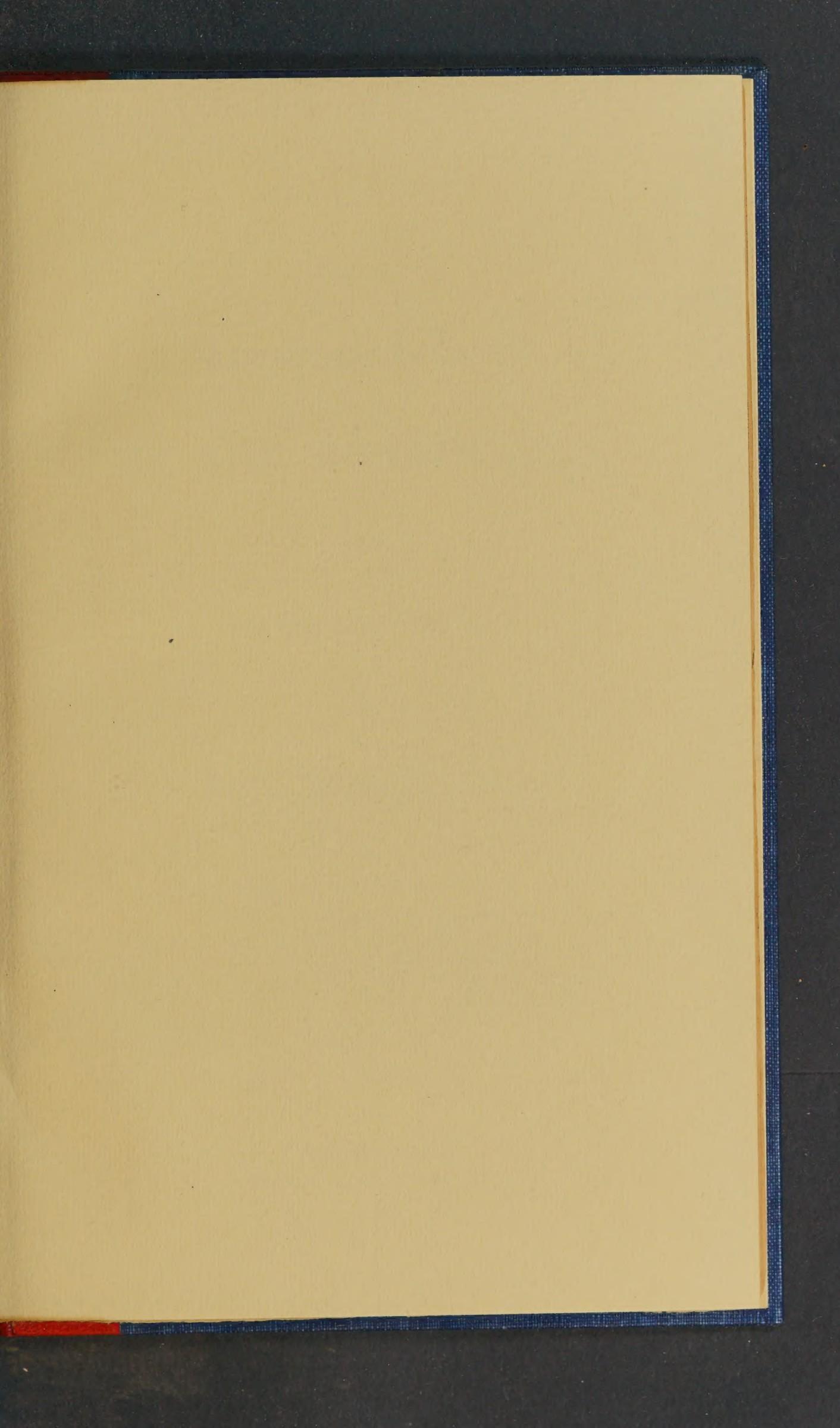
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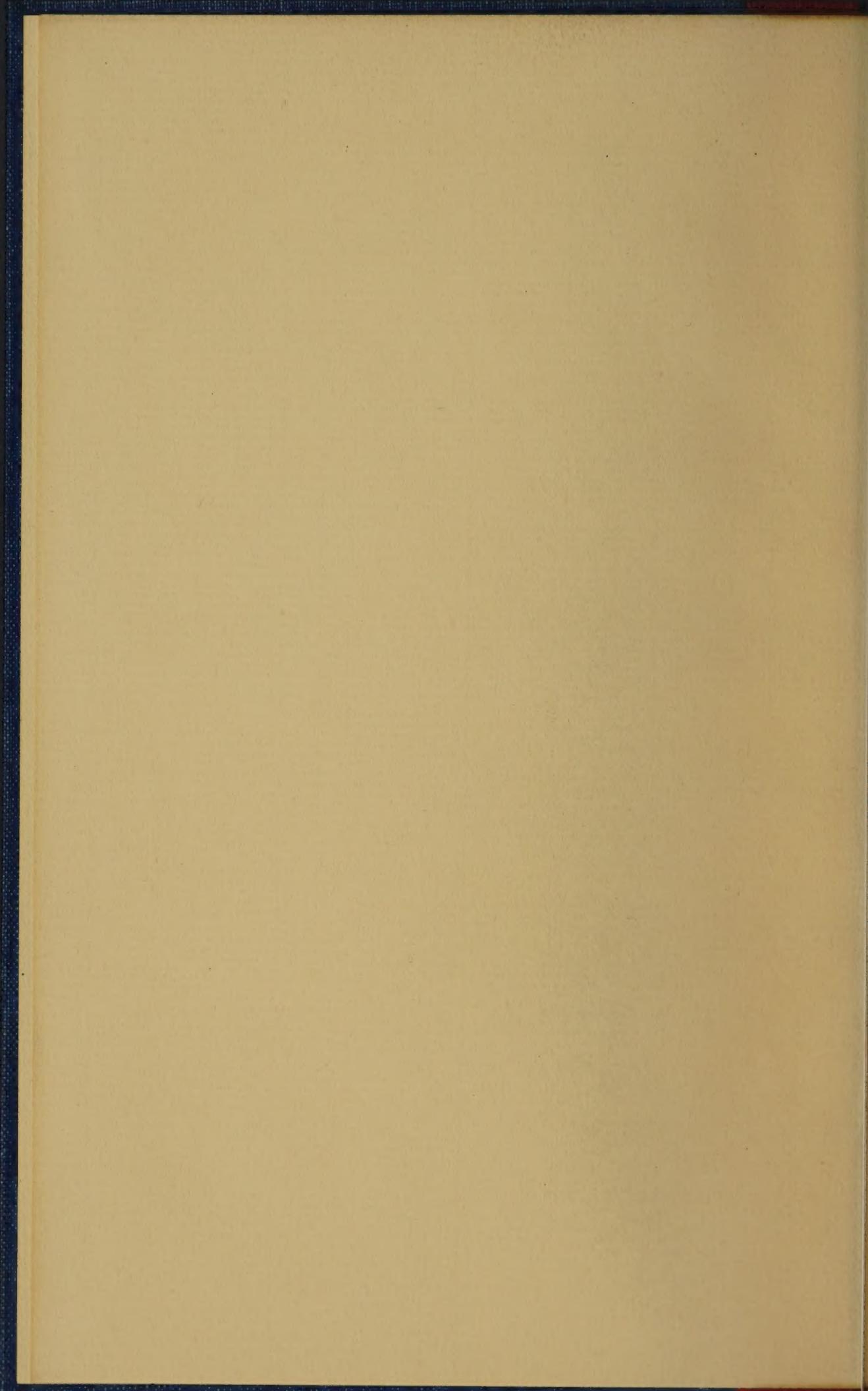
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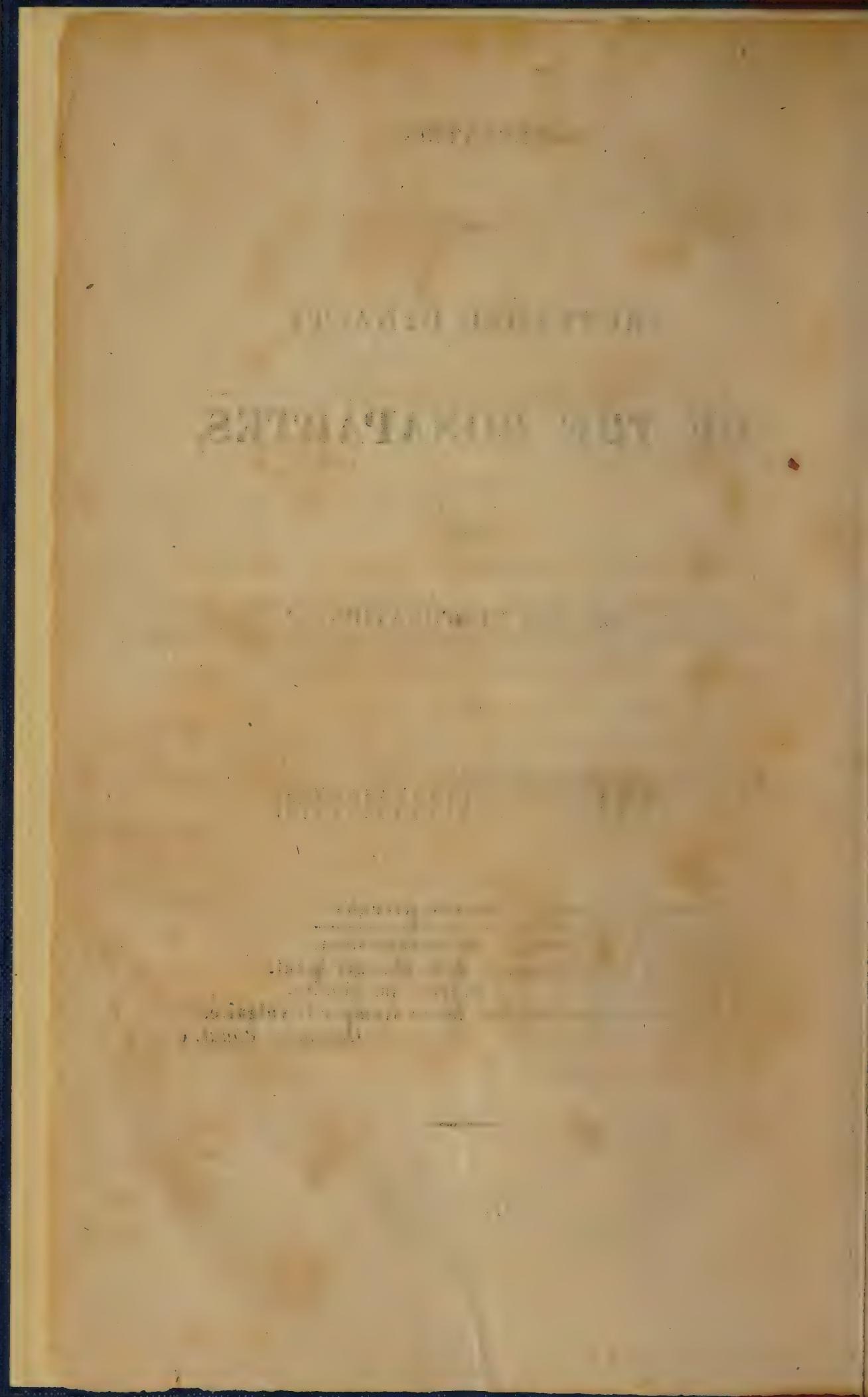




OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
PRETENDED DYNASTY
OF THE BONAPARTES,
AND
ON THE RESTORATION
OF
THE BOURBONS.

La Ligue audacieuse, inquiète, aveuglée
— croit avoir acquis par un assassinat,
Le droit d'élir un maître, & de changer l'état.
Ils pensaient à l'abri d'un trône imaginaire,
Micx repousser Bourbon, micx tromper le vulgaire.
Henriade, Chaut. 6.

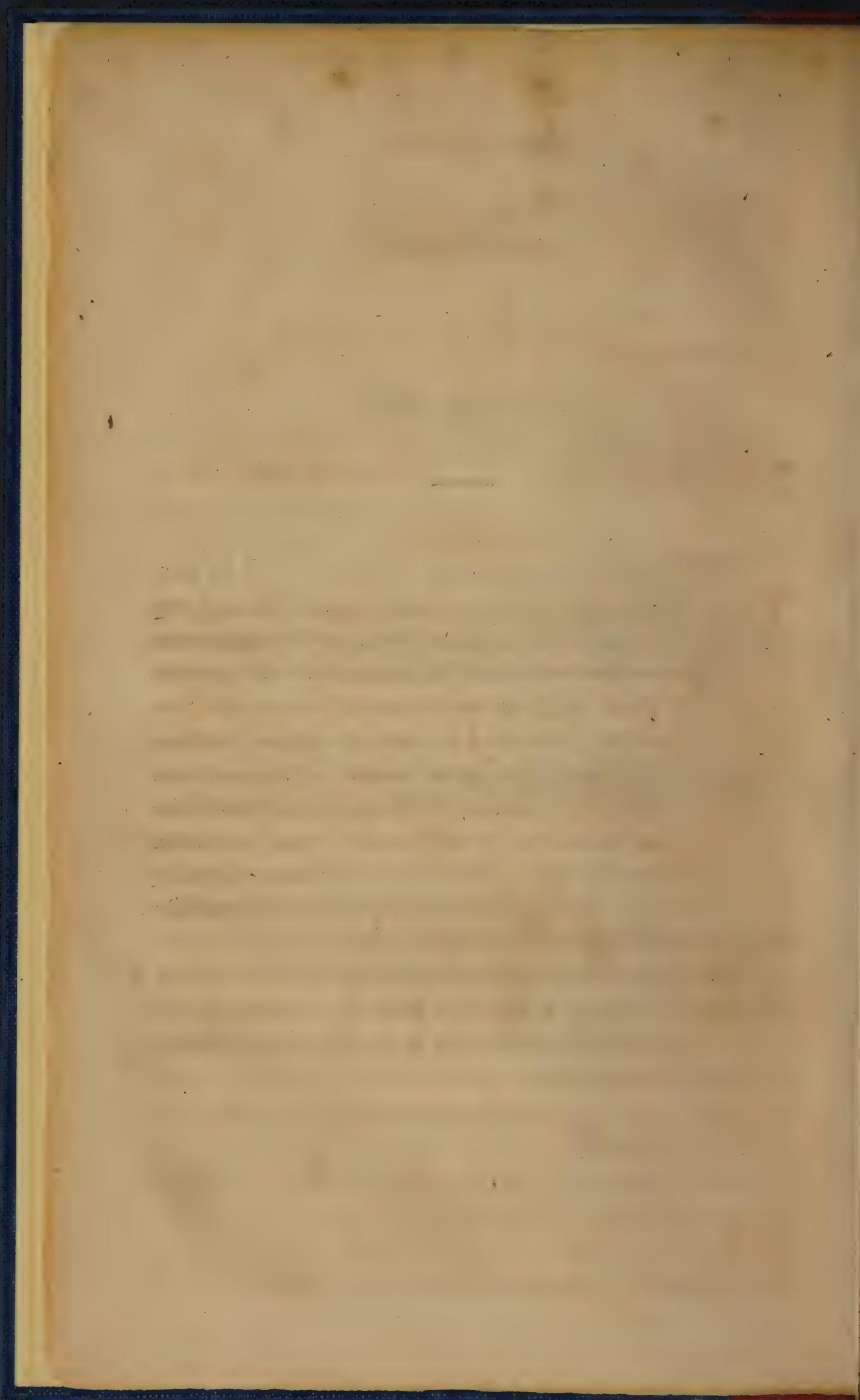
BALTIMORE:
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1814.



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following pages were written, as will be perceived, during the attack on Austria, in 1809, and are neither more or less, than an attempt to develop some ideas, contained in a series of essays, by the same person, under the title of "Spanish Patriots," and signed an *Old Baltimorean*, published in the **Baltimore Federal Gazette**, and copied into some other News-papers of the time. Essays which were intended to interest the feelings of the American people in the Spanish cause, and deter them from committing themselves, against a nation worthy of independence, and whom, it was the writers wish, to encourage and support.

The publication of these observations, in the situation Europe then was, the writer judged premature, but hopes it will now be acceptable to the honest politician, in Europe or America.



OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
DYNASTY OF THE BONAPARTES,
AND
RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS.

To many even of those who contemplate the aggrandizement of France with awe, and attribute wisdom and valor to her chief tyrant with reluctance, it may be considered great rashness, if not insanity, to predict the downfall of either. There is nothing certainly more wonderful, even in this age of wonders, as tools are taught to call it, with a view of stifling enquiry, that both should return to that rank they formerly held, than that either should have left it; yet, it is well known, the revolution which produced both was often predicted, and its approach sensibly felt in France, long before it happened. That revolution was not caused by the vices of one man, neither will it terminate with the virtues of another. The nation itself will have been regenerated and reformed, before it can return to the point from which it started, and it is its virtues, succeeding to its vices, which must effect it.

There are other considerations calculated to allay the surprise of the reader, at the subject of this essay. Some of them are, that the conquests of the French now realised, were planned fifty or a hundred years

ago, as several of their histories as well as their records, testify; and if it is true, as has been repeatedly asserted without contradiction, that the chief agency of the usurpation was tendered to several, besides the one who accepted it, it is sufficiently proved, not only that there were others fitted for the task, in the estimation of the authors of his elevation, but that he did neither conceive nor effect it himself, and ought to be considered as he is, the present leader of a band, the chief of a gang of robbers and cut throats, linked and bound together for their personal advantage and safety, against law, order and justice. To mislead the judgment, and do away the odium of his descent, the tyrant's names have both been changed: Neapolone for Napoleon, and Buonaparte, for Bonaparte.

Americans, to whom their republican constitutions justly open the door to all kinds of trusts and employments, and who, very properly, aspire to every one, are very apt to think, contrary, nevertheless to the fundamental principles of other governments, that any one man has as much right to be king as another; and that monarchies which are hereditary, may at any time be advantageously converted to elective.

Having heard that the first king was a fortunate soldier, a change of dynasty, is a term frequently introduced into the public prints and common conversation, since the arms of the French have been carried beyond their own frontiers by the effervescence of a sanguinary revolution, and the French Koulikhan has affected to claim the neighboring sovereignties for his brothers and descendants. Although we are taught in many parts of holy writ, to guard against the delusive appearances of the prosperity of the wicked, not a few have been in-

fluenced by those impious appeals to heaven, with which the usurper lards his infamous proclamations; and some, otherwise just and pious people, have learned to look with indifference on the most horrible and sinful acts of robbery and murder committed by the tyrant. Doubtless, heaven permits, for purposes for which it is not necessary for us to account, hurricanes, earthquakes, wars, pestilence and famine. So the lions and tigers of the desert make eternal war on humanity; but, that we are bound in duty to defend ourselves against them, no man in his senses can doubt; neither must we think ourselves justifiable towards our Maker, in tamely submitting to the inordinately ambitious and blood-thirsty tyrant in human form; for it is written, ‘that him who sheddeth the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed;’ and it has pleased God to execute this law on usurpers especially, from the days of Absalom until now, as all history shows.

Assyria was under the government of hereditary monarchs long before God gave kings to the children of Israel, and for the same causes no doubt, the corruption and perversity of individuals. “God made men, and men made kings,” as was said by the martyr Russell; though, by God they rule, as does the meanest officer of the state, whether hereditary or elective. It is one of the errors of the present day, to attach more consequence to the individual, his prowess, and his policy, than the tyrant merits. Bonaparte’s elevation is not the work of his own head or hands. He was shown to be a coward in his first attempt on the pretended legislature at St. Cloud, and, if not relieved by the superior courage of his brother Lucien, would have failed, as he had at St. Jean D’Acre, on the threshold.

However the tyrant may be feared or extolled by some of his subjects, it is not to be doubted, but that Seyes, Talleyrand and others, who set him up, can put him down at pleasure; and in the mean time, regard with ridicule and contempt, the admiration which is bestowed on his talents by strangers. It is the authors of his elevation who best know his failings, and if he had been entitled to any thing great of character he would not have suited or been selected by them, and he is just such a wretch as will let them govern in his name.

There is a succession of tyrants in barbarous countries, but no lawful kings, and, consequently no dynasties; for, if I understand the word, it means a regular succession in the same family, by right of inheritance, and not when one stranger takes it after another, for ages. In countries where the state of society is not improved by the arts, it is sufficient that two individuals have ambition to desire the sovereignty, to produce an insurrection; and, if the pretender is a more successful commander than the incumbent of the throne, a revolution takes place of necessity. Such was the case in France a thousand years ago, and such has been the case in other European countries, down to a much later period.

Not so, where civilization has introduced laws to define the rights and duties of the individuals; here, those of the government and people are established; if hereditary, the heir to the crown has a guarantee in the laws, founded in the principles on which those laws are founded, exclusive of any specific statute, and an acknowledged preference over every pretender. As, in them, the sovereign is the chief executor of the laws,

and not the sole law-maker, he may be much restrained, when the interest of the subjects requires it, without real injury to himself; on the contrary, reformations, which are attempted in monarchies, have for their object, the security and happiness of the reigning family, as often as those of the people, and revolutions intended merely to transfer the sovereignty from one family to another, are rarely attempted, and always fail at last.

Regular governments have two principal objects.—When few people are united in one society, each person may retain most of his individual liberty; and, in proportion as the number increases, if the morals deteriorate, and it seems scarcely possible they should not, must these liberties be diminished, and the power of the government be extended.

Thus, it is a peculiar object of republics, to maintain individual liberty, and, if the first principle, or elective franchise, is destroyed, the government is at an end. So, it is the peculiar object of monarchies to maintain the safety of the governed; and, if its first principle, the hereditary succession is lost, the monarchy ceases.

The solidity of the hereditary right in civilized countries, removing fear from the prince, is the best security for the people's safety, and the reason why those monarchies are mildly governed, even by the most ambitious sovereigns; and, the contrary, the principal cause of the usurper's tyranny.

There is indeed, matter of astonishment, for those who do not calculate the advantages which a numerous and corrupt people derive from hereditary government, in considering the perseverance and tenacity with which the people of several civilized countries have traced the pedigree of their Princes, to hunt out a lawful

claim to the sovereignty in a distant generation, when, from the failure of a particular line, or other imperious causes, there is a necessity; but, the reason is, that a succession entirely open, from absolute failure, always produces a number of competitors, who then have equal claims, and the adherents of each become factions which never fail to produce long civil wars, and all their usual dreadful attendants and effects. The case is the same, and certainly no better, when an ambitious upstart, taking advantage of some latent or sinister causes, forcibly banishes or extirpates the heirs to the crown, in order to place it on his daring brow, and convey it to his ignoble posterity. It is the interest of the people, in such times, and they have always done so, to seem united, and uphold the most successful. Tyrants enjoying at least, the skeleton of their government, though it stand like the emblem of time, with a scythe in hand, until a change of circumstances shall have rendered his overthrow easy, and the succession of the lawful Heir certain. But, as there can be no usurpation where there is not a lawful king, they would risk a succession of Tyrants, if they suffered the crown to be conveyed by the first, and did not at his demise, secure the rights of the lawful Heir. This they have uniformly opportunities to do; for through that inordinate ambition of which an usurper is unable to divest himself, and contempt of the principles of the government they have overturned, tyrants parcel out their succession, as did Alexander, Caesar, Tammerlane, and Charlemaigne, whose empires ceased with themselves. The reason is, that their supporters, those whom treasons have linked in guilt with them, expire at the same time, and the succeeding generation have no such common interests.

Different parts of the world have enjoyed the arts of civilization, and suffered the miseries of savage ignorance at different times; neither is there any part of the world whose history is known to us, but would afford some examples to justify the preceding observations.

There are conscripts of the name of Montmorenci and of that of La Tremouille, in the French Armies, but what interest have they which is common to the Cadores, the Montbellos? Accordingly, the few instances of usurpation which modern Europe presents, show that it has always been thought a necessary object to extirpate if possible, every one in the nation who has any claim to the blood royal, and establish on the neighbouring thrones, their relatives, or their immediate dependants and pliant tools. Thus it was a D'Enghein, a descendant of the Great Condé, was sought for and delivered to be executed upon pretence of treachery, but purely to add security to the tyranny of Bonaparte. Even Robespierre, whom a people, that saw their king go to the scaffold with silent horor, welcomed with shouts of exultation on his passage to the same block, even the monster Robespierre, had the candor to declare, that "his Republic and Lewis XVI could not exist together, and therefore it was, and not for any crimes imputed to the king, he voted his execution"

Cromwell so terrified Mazarine, as to compel him to banish Charles, the heir to the crown of England, from his court, and Bonaparte's neighbours have hunted the unfortunate heir to the crown of France from off the continent, hoping that he would spare themselves in consideration thereof; but vain hopes, for he too must create allies, when he cannot form alliances. Accident has much contributed to prolong and extend the power

of the latter. By an innovation on the monarchical system, he reserves to himself the right of naming a successor, and having no children, his brothers, and even his generals, having all equal pretensions with himself, who even set up claims to crowns, already carry their views immediately to the throne; vying with each other who shall, by his fidelity, or his duplicity, obtain the confidence of the usurper, and a legacy of the future sovereignty.

There is no one of the branches who would not readily exchange all the authority Napoleon has been able to procure them abroad, for the expectancy of France; not because it holds out more splendid advantages, but because they think the tenure more secure and lasting; well they know, that as soon as the forces of France are withdrawn, their ill-gotten power vanishes, and that it is only by maintaining the military despotism in that empire, that either his power or their own is protracted.

But the evil is working its own cure; in proportion as Napoleon extends his conquests, with a view to perpetuate the dominion of the family, the French are suffering at home, and that enlightened nation, essentially brave and just, and not to be deprived of their sovereigns, like the Turks or Persians, will, when they can see a chance of effecting it without increasing the evils they at present suffer, hurl the upstarts into the mire from which they have been dragged by the revolution.

The counter-revolution in France, which was foretold by many honest statesmen of that and other countries, did not excite one single alarm in the minds of its partisans. During the existence of the pretended republic, the predictions of its downfall, were termed

raving and lunacy—yet did it fall, and its most serious admirers wonder it ever existed, or doubt if it did exist; and so will it be with the phantom of imperial dynasty; for, to the reflecting mind, there is nothing to surprize more in the fall of the Bonapartes, than that they should ever have risen; and much less, that a humane and peaceful monarch, should be put to death to make room for a spurious and foreign tyrant.

After a slight comparative view of China and Persia, the one considered a polished and the other a barbarous country, it will be proper to examine more minutely, the history of the principal European monarchical states since the introduction of Christianity, which was coeval with the establishment of their present governments.

It is said that the family of Chu had reigned three hundred years in China, when the Tartars returned from the north, where they had been driven by the Chinese before the Christian era, and the Tartar race have continued to reign there since the middle of the seventeenth century. Here was a change of subjects, as well as of sovereigns, and not a usurpation, or change of dynasty, or even a reform in government any more than were the irruptions of the Franks into Gaul, or the Moors into Spain. If it were otherwise, the submission of the nation to the present Tartar race, during a succession of five emperors, is a sufficient proof of the stability of their Monarchy and fidelity of the people.

Very deficient are the Persians, and very defective their government. Even in our own times, whole families have been precipitated from power to destruction, and others have been as suddenly advanced from obscurity to their places.—As these contests were per-

sonal, there can be no law to guarantee the newly acquired power to the possessor, and their fate must be like that of their predecessors. Unhappily, the people are not mere spectators, but the wretched instruments of their own degradation and misery. See the history of their late Kouli Khan or Nadir Shah.

Just such governments are the empire of Morocco, and the regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoly ; the daring villain reigns, and the more daring cuts off his head to reign, and so in succession; none dreaming of a dynasty, where the best subjects have been extirpated, banished or degraded, through conscious dread; or, of usurping power, which was never lawfully created, but cruelly imposed on a divided and helpless people.

Little as we admire any of the forms of European governments, the difference between the state of countries just mentioned and theirs, will afford consolation to the republican of feeling. It is not in the age of feudal barbarism, we must look for proper examples. I know that, because a governor of the palace took the crown of France, it is thought Bonaparte may do it too. As well might you argue; because the empire of Morocco changes sovereigns, France may do so too. If it were so, is there no difference between a Corsican lieutenant of infantry, and a governor of the palace ?

Arragon and Castile were anciently kingdoms of the south of Europe, when, towards the latter end of the fifteenth century, Ferdinand and Isabella, their sovereigns, finally expelled the Moors from Spain, and united the separate kingdoms of that whole country. Their direct lineage failing after one hundred years,

the crown devolved on Philip, the grandson of Louis the fourteenth of France, the nearest of kin to the deceased sovereign, who named the successor in his will. Ferdinand the 7th, the king whom the people now acknowledge, is the fifth direct descendant of Philip; and, in default of the French line of Bourbons, lawful heir to the crown of France, as well as of Spain. The treacherous manner in which this patriotic prince was made a captive, is fresh on the memory of every body. But his father's brother, with his children, heirs to the crown of Naples, are safe in the Island of Sicily, so that France or Spain will perhaps never be without Bourbons.

In the eleventh century, Ferdinand of Castile conquered Portugal, and set his son Garcia on the Throne of that kingdom. Garcia's direct descendants filled it until a vacancy happening to his line, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the king of Spain assumed the reigns; but in the century before the last, the Braganza family revived pretensions which it held from the former race of kings, and enjoyed the crown from that time to the present. The Prince Regent who has removed to the Brazils; married the sister of Ferdinand; and, in case of failure of this Spanish line, his children will be heirs to the crown of Spain.

The Bourbon family has reigned in France from the accession of Hugh Capet, in nine hundred and eighty-seven. Though Henry of Navarre was removed from the last possessor of the crown by ten generations, he was the nearest of the blood, and succeeded in 1589. There was indeed a faction who would have excluded this heroic prince, but to put in his place a Guize or a Mayenne, not a Bonaparte. Since that time, the crown

has been worn by four Louis, his direct descendants; and the family were only suspended in 1792, by the miscarriage of a reform in the administration which the king himself had undertaken, for the benefit of his people, and of which he was almost the first victim.

Aided by fugitives from justice, from England, Spain, Germany, and other countries, and by unbelief, the philosophy of the day, a few Parisian cut-throats were able to bring this benevolent Prince to an untimely end; but the dreadful silence with which his execution was witnessed by his people, and the exultation which they manifested at the punishment of his immediate judges, are sure omens of the fate which awaits the usurper of his crown.

It would nevertheless have been totally out of the king's power to have arrested the revolution, begun, as it was, with the concurrence of almost every Frenchman.

Had Louis the sixteenth been a cruel and vindictive sovereign, or, even one whose folly had brought distress on his subjects, it might be expected they would have chosen another, but not out of the Bourbon family, under which, and by whose exertions, France had arrived to a degree of power and prosperity unknown to her before, and almost unrivalled at this day. Accordingly, the loyalty of the nation was artfully turned against the infant king, Louis the XVII. by the blood thirsty levellers, when in 1793, they caused to be circulated throughout France, that the allies who had taken Valenciennes, intended to put the Duke of York, who was then before Dunkirk, on the throne of France; as they had before surprised their galantry, by teaching the people to believe Louis sixteenth had transferred

the government to the emperor of Austria, brother to the queen. Besides two brothers, the late king left by his unfortunate wife, Mary Antoinette, aunt of the present emperor of Austria, a son and a daughter. The former, a child of seven or eight years, perished by the barbarous treatment of those who had murdered his father and mother, but the latter was exchanged with her uncle the emperor, for some revolutionary Ambassadors and Generals, who fell into his hands by the fortune of war; she has since been married to the Duke of Angoulesme, eldest son of the Count D'arcois, her father's youngest brother, all in exile in Great Britain. Will that loyal and gallant nation longer permit a foreign upstart, to persecute Louis' innocent offspring and their adherents, at the expense of French blood and treasure?

The Saxons overrun and established themselves in England in the year 685, and with the intermission of twenty-four years, in which the country was in possession of the Danes, the crown continued in the Saxon line, until the invasion of William, who soon after the expulsion of the Danes set up claims to it, and with the assistance of his countrymen who settled there, succeeded in establishing his line. Former intermarriages made James VI. of Scotland, heir to the crown of England, and by his accession, the united kingdoms were afterwards reduced to one consolidated state. In 1640, an attempt was made to reform the laws and restrain the power of the sovereign, but the ambitious and daring Cromwell took advantage of fanaticism, the philosophy of the times, to turn the people's exertions to his own benefit and aggrandizement. Harrassed by his wars, the nation took the opportunity of his decease, to

restore the crown to the family, whose chief they had beheaded eleven years before; and the dynasty of the upstart protector, as he was called, ceased with himself. The people, who like the French, had witnessed the death of their king with silent horror, hailing his son as their deliverer, and heaping on him by way of retribution more power than his father ever claimed, or his own interest required.

In 1688, the reigning prince attempted a reform in religion which cost him his crown; but the Scots, though zealous opponents to the sect he espoused, thought themselves specially charged with the guardianship of the rights of a family which they had sent to England, and were with much difficulty, brought to acquiesce in the succession of William and Mary, his nearest of kin of the protestant line.

At the very time the people of England turned away the protector's family, the Danes, as if to show their contempt of such impostors, increased the power of their king Frederick; and his descendants have held the crown of Denmark without intermission.

The same exorbitant authority had been bestowed on Gustavus Erickson, a Swedish nobleman, who had greatly contributed to rescue his countrymen from the power of the Danes, in 1583, and his family continue to reign in Sweden, with more or less restraint, to the present time.

The Duchy of Russia appears to have been in the hands of the present family from the tenth century, when Wolodomir it is said first introduced christianity. In the latter years of the sixteenth century, this family who had so long governed the Russians, and at that time, expelled the Tartars, became almost extinct and

Godonow, whose sister the emperor of Russia's brother had married, put one of the heirs, called Demetrius, to death, and was proclaimed, but not without opposition, though the people were yet far from civilized.

Several characters assuming the name of the murdered prince, usurped the empire; the people manifesting an exemplary fidelity to the family of their lawful sovereigns, even by adhering to each imposter, until he was proved such, as the English did in the case of Perkins, in 1497. But the Poles and Swedes triumphed and tyrannised over the empire, during these troubles, in a way which has been successfully retaliated upon them of late.

In 1613, the ancient family was restored to the crown in the person of Michael Faederowitz; and they have continued in possession of it; for, Catherine of Anhalt reigned in the right of her husband, and conveyed the crown to his son, father of the present emperor.

The Duchy of Austria has been subject to the family of the present emperor since the thirteenth century, and in this period of time, has given fourteen or fifteen emperors to Germany.

Even Turkey, the least civilized state in Europe, pays much respect to the hereditary rights of its grand signiors.

Soon after the conquest of Constantinople, and the fall of the eastern empire in 1453, a race of Turkish sovereigns commenced, which has kept the crown on the heads of some one or other of its members. When the Janisaries have laid violent hands on their prince; they do not suffer some foreign upstart to take his place, but confer it on his son, a brother, a nephew, or some other connexion of the reigning family.

Though the crown of Poland was elective for several centuries past, it is perhaps, in its late history, that the hereditary right of European princes is most conspicuous.

In governments purely republican, the sovereignty resides in the nation, and its representatives have a portion delegated to them, to administer according to known forms for limited periods of time. But monarchies for life, are sovereignties for uncertain periods; and, as every candidate may flatter himself with the hope of converting the government into an hereditary kingdom, as Bonaparte lately did his limited consulship, to an hereditary despotism, Noblemen of the first estate, and Princes of powerful connexions, without perhaps any other recommendation, will enter the lists; and, at each vacancy, the nation is inevitably divided into factions, none of which have in view the amelioration of the state, but of its respective chief, and all are reduced to misery.

If the constitution of Poland had never been changed from an hereditary to an elective monarchy, it is more than probable the country would have retained its independence. Divided as the territory was, by Russia, Prussia and Austria, the people enjoyed, at least the perspective of future tranquility; and would not, of choice, prefer either their recent government, or that which the French tyrant would impose on them.

So it will be found, that in Sardinia, Naples, and every little principality or dukedom, where the right of descent is established, it never was effectually contested, unless by external power; and when, from failure of a particular line, the change of religion, or some other imperious cause, the people have been compelled

to interfere—the variation was as partial as the cause; and, as much as possible, by the hereditary principle.

There is, no doubt, amongst the modern Europeans, monarchists as well as republicans; that their governments are compacts, implying, on the part of the prince, protection, and on that of the people, allegiance; or that, when an absolute failure of a reigning family does happen in a monarchy, the people enter into the original state, and must renew the compact, with such as they shall elect, but it is a case which has not happened in the civilized world, or is likely to happen.

Some states, of similar extent and force with those last mentioned, had established republican governments, but their existence, like these, was rather a state of sufferance than sovereignty; for when their more powerful neighbours could agree on a division of them, or set their rivals at defiance, all disappeared.

The poverty of such states and the respect in which they held the rights of their neighbours made it necessary indeed, that some one of the latter should possess more than ordinary ambition, like the revolutionary tyrant of France, to bring them down together.

The republicans too, were made to believe they should enjoy more freedom, and their governments fell the easier under the usurper's dominion; but, sad experience having dissipated the delusion, they will the readier assist, and especially the virtuous Switzers, in his overthrow, in proportion as they had been more free and happy; whilst independent.

The uniform, persevering, and indeed, tenacious fidelity of so many enlightened nations, to the hereditary principles of their governments, cannot be without an important and conspicuous cause. However

aided by education or prejudice, it is not the result of personal respect and natural affection in the subjects towards the sovereigns, any more than it is of a sense of supernatural law or divine right in the prince over the people. These sentiments, if they do exist at all, can only originate in ignorance or superstition, and their effects are perhaps, as injurious to the former, as they are degrading to the latter. Neither is the adherence of the people to the lawful heir to the crown, but rarely derived from the more interesting and more honorable conviction of the superior talents, or personal ability to serve the state, or them, in the individual. And herein consists the great advantages of republican governments, that the good, and the wise, are always chosen to administer the government, whilst the people are wise and good enough to cherish that system.

However, in recalling Charles the second to the throne of England, and Michael Fœderowitz to that of Russia; it appears the people of those countries were actuated by no bigotted dogmas, or childish prejudices, and, if the virtues or abilities of those princes, which were not remarkable, had been much less than they actually were, there is no reason to believe their respective subjects would have conceived it less their duty or their interest, to restore the several families of which they were chiefs.

It is known, that in England, the people elated immoderately at the victory obtained over themselves, contemplated the scenes of anarchy and confusion from which they had emerged, with horror; broke open the tomb of their ignoble and fanatical protector, as the people of Paris did that of the vile and cruel Marat, to vent their rage on the remains; and, inflicted penance

on their own offspring, by giving, as I have before remarked, more power to the new king, than was required by loyalty, or by justice, either to him or themselves.

The excess of this generosity, abused by his brother and successor, together with his change of religion, brought Russel and Sidney to the scaffold, and produced the revolution of 1688.

This fidelity in the people of Europe towards their hereditary princes, can be best accounted for, by recurring to the evils of a contrary practice, as we have hinted before. All governments being instituted to restrain the passions of mankind, and secure them that reasonable liberty, which promotes the general good, without inflicting a partial evil, but, on the contrary, a partial as well as general good. The evils of revolutions and civil wars, have made the people wise enough to subject their passions to those restraints. And, when experience has taught them, that republican or elective systems are not practicable with their population, their public knowledge, divisions of property, and general state of society, they willingly adopt any other system which may be called government; and, that of hereditary monarchy, if limited, is certainly in their opinions, least exceptionable of any other, with the Europeans.

Their submission, even to Cromwell and to Bonaparte, may be considered a proof of this.

Here the people chose indeed, the least of two intolerable evils, absolute despotism in preference to anarchy; but, the necessity of such a deplorable alternative, is not perpetual; and the time is sure to come, though it may appear to move slow, when the hereditary Prince may be placed on the throne, without blood-

shed or trouble. When a government is organized, and a tyranny more than any other, it possesses within itself, means of controlling the people by the people themselves, which prolongs its power, and especially, in a state of war; for that profession to which the youth are inclined, is founded on discipline and obedience.

Such is the impulse of revolutionary horrors, on the feelings of those who have not suffered, but only witnessed the sufferings of others, that none will dare propose a reform, until success in the attempt is put beyond the slightest doubt; indeed, the people are forced, through fear itself, to turn brave in defence of a tyrant; nevertheless, wishing defeat to their own arms, will hail with gratitude, and without treachery, the friend who shall have subdued their own country, and relieved them from their own thraldom.

In a country populous as France, and possessing so many sources of national strength, there is no single nation that could restore the sovereign by force. Those of the French who have witnessed the first revolution, from monarchy to anarchy, or suffered by its effects, must have passed away by the ordinary course of nature, or by wars, which accelerate the eventful issue; or, in other terms, the living of those descriptions of inhabitants, must have become the smaller number in the nation, as they necessarily will, in the course of twenty or thirty years, before the second and last revolution, from tyranny to monarchy, can be expected to happen in France.

At that period, the agents of the revolution will have given place to another generation, who will not have the same interests, if they had the same talents. There

will be minors of these, as well as of sovereigns, and people will feel little interest for the children, then unable to help themselves. Even these, will have an interest in restoring the laws, by which a part of their father's plunder may possibly be secured to them.— But it would be ridiculous to suppose, that the children under age, of your Bonapartes', your Angereaus', your Massenas', shall compete successfully with the relations of hereditary princes, grown or ungrown. No, the people will turn from ignoble bantlings with scorn, and look back on the time of their submission to their ignoble fathers, with fear, and almost hatred of themselves, for such a length of stupid delirium.

Bonaparte can hardly have a successor less disagreeable to the French, than was Richard Cromwell to the English; nor is it probable, the former will revere any of Bonaparte's acts. If there is any good, resulted from the revolution, it originated before him; whereas, Cromwell is credited by his countrymen at this day, for many good laws. But, Richard had no Blakes', Iretons', or Fleetwoods'; neither will Bonaparte's successor find a Dessaix, Bruix or Kleber; and there may be Fairfax's and Monks in France, as well as in England. It is the arms and the arts of the successors and disciples of Mirabeau and Doumourier, by conscripts and plunder, which upholds the tyrant, and must continue to uphold him, until these men are extinct, or lose their vigour and influence, and not for his sake, or any virtues they see in him, but for their own sakes, and to save their own necks. Their cotemporaries may not see their downfall; but those who have the happiness to be cotemporaries with their more innocent offspring, will never be their subjects.

The enemies of the king disperse exaggerated accounts of the alienations of property, and the number of new officers in France; which, as they say, renders the restoration impracticable, if desired. But the truth is, there were few lands of individuals confiscated, and convents can be suppressed, as the reformation in England shows, without great difficulty, because they leave no heirs; and, unfortunately, this is too much the case with the emigrants, whose property was confiscated.— As to the new officers, the king has long since declared, that their interests should be secured, without doing injustice to the former servants of the crown, as, in the same acts, he provided for the interests of the new proprietors, without neglecting those of the old.

It was with “war upon castles, and peace to cottages,” for their motto, the French advanced every where, and long succeeded. Princes alone could not contend against *Liberty and Equality*. It was necessary the people should learn, from the fraternal embraces of the propagandists themselves, the true meaning of the revolutionary jargon. Lest, however, the terms should recoil on himself, the usurper threw aside this mask and substituted that of “the ambition of England,” the *modern Carthage*, against which the *modern Romans*, that is, every vagabond who thinks himself a hero, were to wage a war of extermination. But the people of Europe will soon have learned the meaning of this too, from the same able teachers, experience and misfortune, and their loyalty and perseverance may then be implicitly relied on.

When time has prepared this revolution, the people will look out for the person to govern them, whose private interest and personal influence combine to give

them the most certain hope of future moderation and stability in the government; not him, who, like the last tyrant, shall have signalised himself by some miraculous exploits, and prolonged his own elevation, by keeping the people constantly on the rack of anxiety and exertion. They will recollect, that the hereditary prince presents himself with the peaceable title of ancient possession; the same on which the laws and usages of the country, has erected the foundation and future security of the other great interests of society.— It will seem to them full as just, that the domains of an ancient family should descend to the offspring of any robber, who had dispossessed the lawful heir by force, as that the crown should fall to him, whose father's only title, consisted in his superior arrogance to wear it. Claiming the sceptre by the same laws by which property is held, and society is bound to protect itself from violence, within or without; no other person can have an equal interest to respect the rights, and maintain the peace of the nation, or of the individuals composing it, with the hereditary prince; no other pretensions than his, can indeed be raised, but what may be common to any other individual in the community, or persisted in, without committing violence on, or being at variance with, those ancient laws and usages by which society, as repeatedly said, are held together; and, on which, every one rests his peace and happiness.

The Europeans too like the rest of human beings, *longing after immortality*, pant for the restoration of their altars, and the consolations afforded by the religion of their fathers; so that, the violence committed on christianity by the philosophy of the day, will have contributed essentially to the downfall of tyranny, and

the solid establishment of the church, with the sovereign under whose ancestors, it long prospered

The people will remember too, that, according to the policy of the humblest subject, it has been that of the European sovereigns, to procure alliances by intermarriages with their most powerful neighbours; so that each one, and none more than the Bourbon family, has acquired a substantial support, not only for the interest of the prince, but of the laws by which his claim is founded.

Not to alarm their subjects, or their neighbours, policy had procured them latterly, alliances of the second class; and it was the misfortune of Lewis the sixteenth, that this policy was lost sight of, in marrying him to an Arch Dutchess of Austria, of unrivalled accomplishments, and beauty surpassing her sex: for such a wife, the French thought gallantry would make any sacrifice, and they were taught to believe that the King no longer governed at Paris—that the Austrians had a cabinet there, which, through the amiable Antoinette, plundered the kingdom without remorse.

Lewis the eighteenth, third son of the Dauphin of France, and grandson of Lewis the fifteenth, who inherits the innocence of his late infant nephew, and the piety of his late unfortunate brother, and who enjoys the affection of every honourable Frenchman, descended on the mothers' side from a Saxon princess, and his wife, who is dead without issue, was a princess of Sardinia. His relationship to the reigning families of Spain, Portugal and Sicily, have been noticed; that, with the reigning families of Austria and England, and several sovereign princes on the continent of Europe, not mentioned, is not much more distant. However appearances may

now be, there can be no doubt of the good-will which those sovereigns bear the claimant; or of their readiness to assist him, when there is a prospect of doing it effectually.

This is not merely the influence and power of the several sovereigns, but of the respected nations over, which they rule; for, their interests as they now see, being blended by the interests of their sovereigns, independently of the consequences which each may anticipate for itself, from neighbouring commotions; one nation cannot now suffer a revolution in government without affecting the other, and they will all unite to aid the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France, more cordially than they have united to defend themselves from the aggressions of that country; which even to some sovereigns, appeared at first, the approaches of friendship.

The then colony of Virginia was the last of the British dominions to acknowledge the commonwealth of Cromwell; and, certainly, if that colony was as near standard Republicanism at this day as it was then, it would be one of the first to disclaim the authority of the Corsican usurper of the French Monarchy. But, the spirits of that King and Queen, without whose friendly disposition, we might not yet have had a government of our own, and by whose pecuniary aid to us, precipitated their own assassination, call loudly on all these States, to restore their portraits to the hall of our capitol, and hail with acclamation, the establishment on the throne of his ancestors, of their lawful successor, Lewis the eighteenth.

APPENDIX.

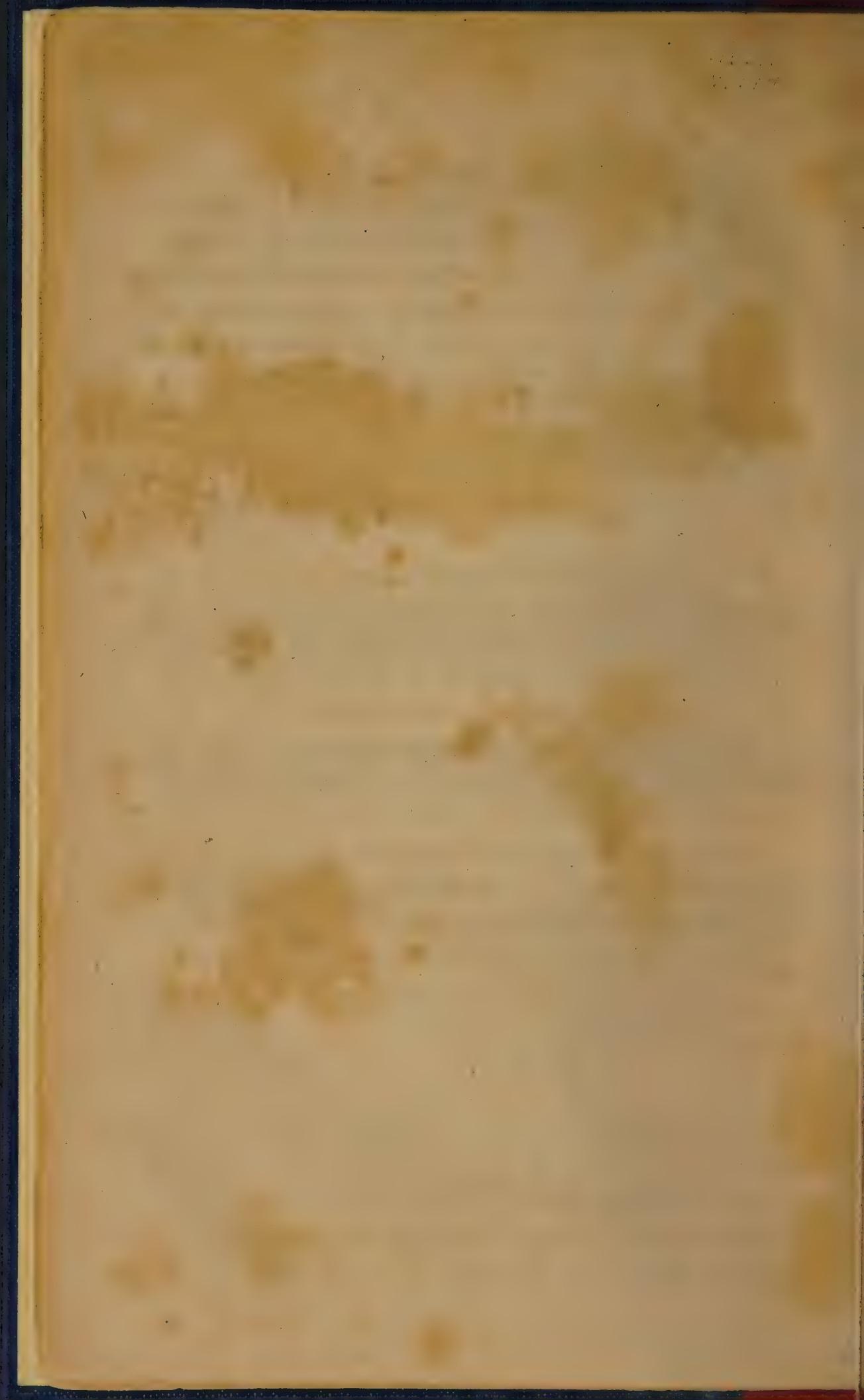
SOON after the foregoing pages were written, the good fortune, as it is called, of the usurper, followed his arms to the gates of Lisbon and Cadiz, and through those of Vienna and Moscow. His dynasty appeared to most persons to be fixed beyond earthly controul; and fears of universal conquest and slavery were seriously entertained by many. The scandal of a causeless divorce from his first wife, and clandestine marriage with an Austrian princess, whom his arms had put in his power, for her father has now declared it a sacrifice, was supposed to be overbalanced, by the advantages of a union with such a house; and the obtaining a direct descendant for his throne, the fruit of his impious nuptials. The history of his reverses is fresh on the minds of every one. From the gates of Lisbon, and Cadiz, the savage invaders have been driven by the patriotic bands of natives of the Peninsula, instructed and commanded by the immortal Wellington, aided by his veteran countrymen, who are now beyond the Pyrenees. At Moscow, fortune perched on the standard of that Russian Czar, who had too much and too long, perhaps, for the welfare of Europe, indulged his subjects with peace; and he has pursued the usurper, deserted as it were, by the little courage and talent he possessed, to the boundaries of the Rhine.

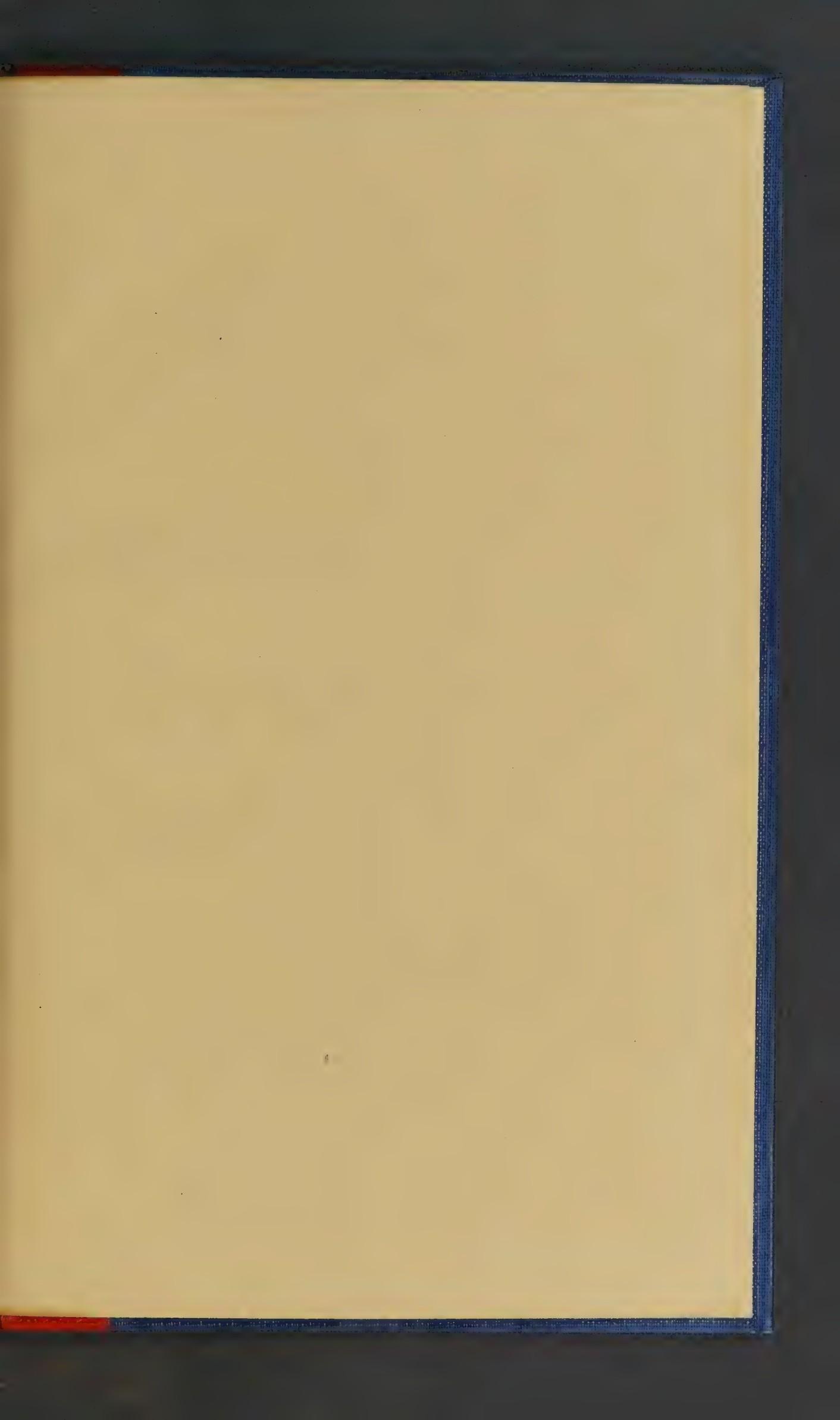
There, the generous Alexander has created the most formidable coalition, including the usurper's own father in law, the Emperor of Austria, which the world ever witnessed. A coalition of nearly all the continent and islands of Europe, except France herself, possess-

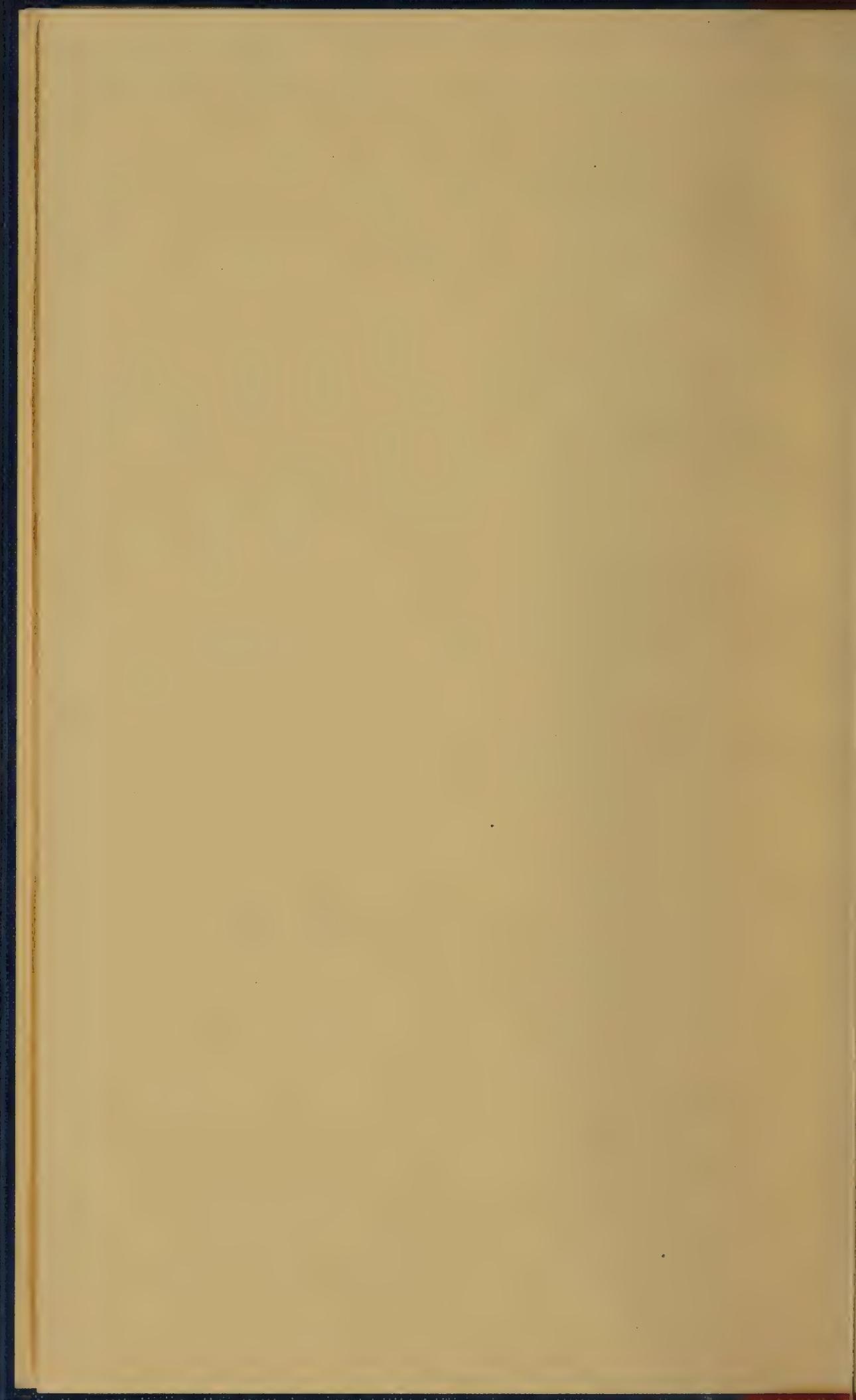
ing the greatest military resources and talents, and animated by the best of human passions, love of country.

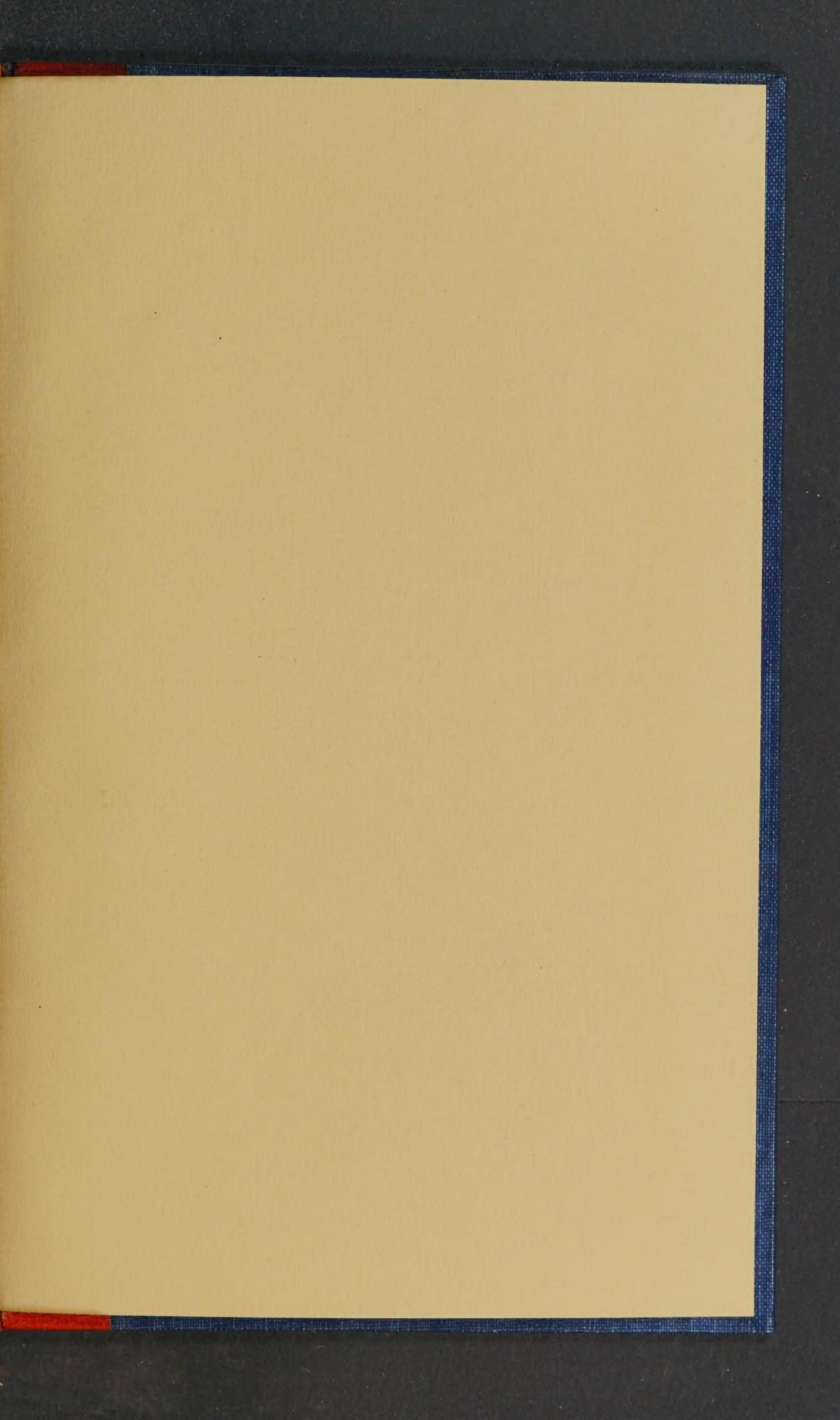
What arguments from lesser events could not operate, the campaigns of 1812 and 1813 have done; undeceived the trembling admirers of Bonaparte's military talents; and the millions of population of which France boasts, must be so reduced in men capable of bearing arms, by a war of twenty years, that her friends might well be alarmed, if the virtues of those nations she has oppressed, did not guarantee her independence.

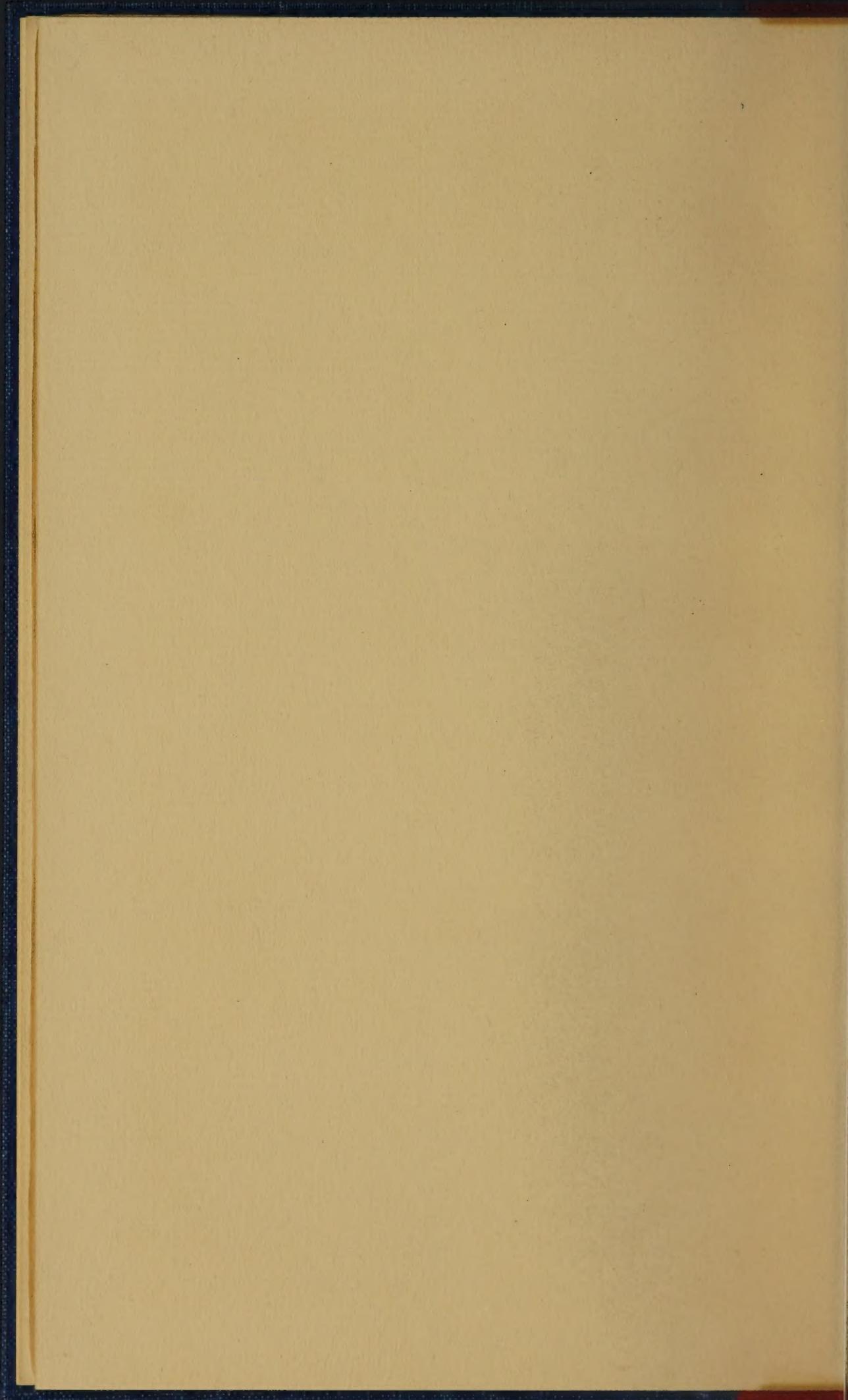
It is now reduced to a moral certainty, that, if an end is not put to his dynasty directly, the territory and power remaining in the usurper's hands, or to descend to his child, will be so limited, as to give little uneasiness to Frenchmen or foreigners hereafter. But, it is more probable the well disposed in France will embrace the opportunity, when there is but a handful of miserable fugitives, without great commanders, about the tyrant's person, and between them and their lawful king, to place him on his throne, and give peace at once, to France and to the World.











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